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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 1386th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 8 August 1991, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. SLABY (Czechoslovakia)
(Vice-Chairman)

- Question of the United States Virgin Islands

- Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Territories under colonial Domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa

Hearing of petitioners

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- Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa

- Military activities and arrangements by colonial powers in territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international organizations associated with the United Nations; report of the Acting Chairman; report of the Secretary-General

- Organization of work

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Slaby (Czechoslovakia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.45 p.m.

QUESTION OF THE UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS

The CHAIRMAN: In accordance with a decision taken at the 1383rd meeting, on 7 August, I invite Mr. Carlyle Corbin, representative of the Governor of the United States Virgin Islands, to take a place at the Committee table.

At the Chairman's invitation, Mr. Corbin took a place at the Committee table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. Corbin.

Mr. CORBIN: On behalf of the Government of the United States Virgin Islands, allow me to congratulate you, Sir, and the other members of the Bureau on your selection to lead the work of this important Committee, and to thank the members of the Bureau for permitting us to make our annual presentation at this time so as not to conflict with scheduled meetings of the Virgin Islands Status Commission, which were originally set for tomorrow and Saturday in St. Thomas.

Participation of successive elected Governments of the Territory in the work of the Special Committee dates back to 1975. This is, therefore, the seventeenth year that Governments of our Territory have presented their views to this Committee.

The present democratically elected Government takes quite seriously its involvement in the international process of decolonization of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, expending its own limited resources to appear before you as an indication of the importance we attach to these proceedings.

(Mr. Corbin)

We are also not unaware of the changing international political dynamics and the concomitant perceptions of how the decolonization process should be carried out in this, the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism.

In the context of this new scenario, the Subcommittee on Small Territories is to be commended for its excellent work in the face of these changing dynamics, adjusting to the calls for reform measures within the wider United Nations system while maintaining the integrity of the Subcommittee and the decolonization process of the United Nations.

My Government has consistently expressed its support for modernization within the United Nations system - including in the field of decolonization - when such reforms are analysed carefully, and particularly as such reforms might affect the very people whom the decolonization process is designed to assist.

My Government is pleased to say that the resulting omnibus resolution which emerged from this Special Committee after extensive debate in the Subcommittee is testimony to the leadership of both bodies acting in the spirit of compromise in the reform process while maintaining the focus on the specific conditions in the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories advocated by so many of us in these Territories who are the subjects of these proceedings.

My Government stated throughout our first term of office, from 1987 to 1990, and we reiterate in this, our second term, that the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization is as important today as it has ever been, and that the decolonization era did not end with the independence of Namibia but has, rather, entered a new phase which should focus on the peculiar situation of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, which are

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not only economically developing countries but also politically developing countries.

Once again, we emphasize the fact that, although the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories are small islands, mostly in the Caribbean and the Pacific, this should in no way diminish their importance, nor should it curtail the applicability of the principles on self-determination contained in the Charter and in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

Turning to the report of the Subcommittee on Small Territories, my Government would like to applaud the effort made by States members of the Subcommittee in adopting an excellent document, which is unprecedented in its focus on the specific conditions in the Territories and which will be before this Committee for consideration tomorrow.

(Mr. Corbin)

My Government had the extraordinary opportunity to participate in the work of the Special Committee's working group chaired by His Excellency Ambassador Renagi Lohia of Papua New Guinea, which formulated the omnibus draft resolution on the 10 Territories covered by the Subcommittee on Small Territories. My Government appreciates the support of the Governments members of the working group in facilitating our participation and in providing us with the opportunity to put forth concrete ideas, some of which have been incorporated in the final omnibus document.

The current omnibus draft resolution, which forms part of the Subcommittee report, preserves essential and fundamental principles of self-determination which had been previously marked for elimination when the proposal was first put forth last year. The reaffirmation of the applicability to our Territories of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), containing the decolonization Declaration, and of other resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly is basic to the completion of a successful decolonization process.

Reference to conditions common to the various Territories - such as vulnerability to natural disasters and environmental degradation, special circumstances of geographical location and the need for economic strengthening and diversification - is critical to a thorough understanding of how these Territories should proceed in their socio-economic and political development process.

The omnibus portion of the Subcommittee report also refers to the vital importance of visiting missions to the individual Territories as a means of obtaining first-hand information on the conditions in those Territories, and alludes to the contribution of the specialized agencies and other

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organizations of the United Nations system, as well as regional institutions, to the development of those Territories which are permitted under their respective dependency relationships to benefit from such participation.

The omnibus component also makes reference to the views of the peoples of the Territories concerned, as expressed at the United Nations regional seminars held in 1990 in Vanuatu and Barbados, on how the people themselves see the process of decolonization being carried out in their Territories and the role of the United Nations in the process.

In the extremely important area of political development, the omnibus section reaffirms the significance of the creation of political education programmes in the Territories so that the people can make informed judgements on the internationally recognized legitimate political status options available to them as clearly defined in General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV). This is an extremely important section of the report of the Subcommittee, since these clearly defined definitions of the legitimate options must be adhered to to the letter if a Territory is to attain true self-determination.

The option of integration must provide for full equality of the Non-Self-Governing Territory with the country with which it is integrating, with such conditions as full voting and other equal rights clearly present. If that full political equality does not exist, then the Territory would not have attained the internationally legitimate option of integration with an independent State; and the United Nations could not accept such a partial form of integration as authentic.

Similarly, the definition of the free association option in resolution 1541 (XV) is also clear that the arrangement must be on the basis of mutuality

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between the two parties which have agreed to associate politically, with the right of either party to end the arrangement clearly defined in the association agreement. If a true mutually agreed arrangement between the two countries does not exist and one associated country has the political and/or constitutional power unilaterally to apply its laws to the other associated country, then this does not meet the internationally recognized criteria of free association, and the United Nations should not accept its authenticity either.

Regarding the independence option, resolution 1541 (XV) is clear that preconditions prior to the granting of independence following a legitimate act of self-determination cannot be acceptable.

Since the United Nations is seemingly placing increasing emphasis on resolution 1541 (XV) as a guide to determining whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory has attained self-determination, it is critical that the definitions contained in that resolution continue to be the criteria on the basis of which we decide what is and what is not a legitimate political status option.

If the United Nations does not have full information on the complexities of the various dependency relationships of the Territories under its review and on whether these political statuses meet the criteria of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), then a comprehensive examination of the political, constitutional and socio-economic relationships between the various Territories under review by this Committee and their respective administering Powers should be undertaken as a component of the plan of action for the international Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism. Such a study has already been called for by the Prime Minister of Vanuatu, at the Pacific regional seminar on decolonization held last year. The results of such an

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analysis would not only assist the Member States of the United Nations in their understanding of the various dependency relationships but would also prove invaluable to the peoples of the Territories themselves in the context of their political education process.

Other aspects of the omnibus portion of the Subcommittee report - on preserving the cultural identity of the Territories, the inalienable right of the peoples of the Territories to own and control their natural resources, protection against environmental degradation, and the promotion of cooperation between the Non-Self-Governing Territories and United Nations and regional institutions - are all extremely valuable contributions to the excellent Subcommittee report on the 10 Territories covered by the Subcommittee.

With respect to the draft resolutions on the individual Territories contained in the final section of the Subcommittee report, my Government further commends the Subcommittee on its excellent work on the draft resolution on the United States Virgin Islands.

In that connection, I should like to provide a few updates on some of the information contained therein.

The draft resolution on the United States Virgin Islands refers to legislation introduced in the Territory's legislature to set new dates for the political status referendum, and makes reference to concerns over the residency requirement for voting in a referendum on self-determination.

These two issues are interrelated since the legislation, which has now been signed into law by His Excellency Mr. Alexander A. Farrelly, the elected Governor of the Territory, sets the dates for the referendum to be held in 1993 and directs the Virgin Islands Status Commission to examine the issue of a residency requirement for voting in the referendum longer than the current

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90-day residency which is used for voting in general elections. The unilateral applicability of administering Power laws to the Territory prevents the introduction of a longer, more reasonable residency requirement.

My Government therefore reiterates our request, which we made at the Subcommittee on Small Territories earlier this year and at the decolonization seminar in Barbados last year, for a United Nations advisory opinion on the applicability of international law to the decolonization process for the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, and for information on residency requirements for voting in acts of self-determination in other Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The draft resolution on the United States Virgin Islands also supports the position of the Government and the people of the Territory with respect to the transfer of Water Island, our fourth largest inhabited island, from the jurisdiction of the administering Power to that of the Territory at the end of 1992, and to ensuring that the permanent sovereignty of the Territory over its natural resources is fully safeguarded and respected.

(Mr. Corbin)

It is important to note in this connection that this issue has dragged on for over a decade, with successive Governments of the Territory having attempted to convince the administering Power to transfer Water Island back to the Territory, to no avail.

The latest proposal put forth in the Congress of the administering Power is for the administering Power to sell the island to the highest bidder and to use the excess proceeds of the sale to acquire other land in the Territory.

The response of the democratically elected Governor of the United States Virgin Islands to that proposal is:

> "Water Island is an inalienable part of the Virgin Islands that ought to be reunited with the rest of the Territory".

My Government is hopeful that ongoing consultations with the administering Power will result in the transfer of Water Island back under the jurisdiction of the elected Government of the Territory.

Regarding the reference in the draft resolution requesting the administering Power to assist the Territory in obtaining the necessary resources to reacquire the reclaimed and submerged lands at Long Bay, in the harbour of St. Thomas, from a foreign economic interest, my Government applauds this courageous language which supports the position of the people of the Territory that control of their own harbour should rest with their own Government and that the reason for its being under the ownership of this foreign economic interest in the first place is because of an agreement between the old administering Power and the current administering Power without consultation of the people of the Territory.

Several representatives of non-governmental organizations which have been taking the lead on the return of this submerged land, consistent with the

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position of my Government, are scheduled to address this Committee tomorrow and will expand on the details of this important issue.

In respect of the participation of the Territory in several Caribbean, regional and other international organizations, my Government continues to hold discussions with the administering Power on the parameters of such arrangements, and we are hopeful that we can conclude these consultations in the very near future to our mutual satisfaction.

The final section of the Subcommittee's report on the United States Virgin Islands calls for a favourable response to the Territory's outstanding request for the dispatch of a United Nations visiting mission and/or observer mission.

The Territorial Government had originally made the request in 1989 in advance of the political status referendum, which was to have been held in November of that year.

Hurricane Hugo forced the postponement of the referendum, and since it is now rescheduled for 1993 my Government is hopeful that a visiting mission can be invited to the Territory before our political education programme is under way in the fall of this year.

All things considered, the report of the Subcommittee on Small Territories, with respect to the omnibus section and to the draft resolution on the United States Virgin Islands, is an accurate reflection of the situation in the Territory, and my Government wholeheartedly endorses the conclusions and recommendations contained therein.

We therefore call upon the Special Committee to adopt these portions as they have been approved by the Subcommittee.

In conclusion, as we commend the Subcommittee for its excellent work we are also cognizant that implementation of the recommendations of the United

(Mr. Corbin)

Nations in the field of decolonization is vital to a true self-determination process.

It is one thing to have excellent language in a resolution, and it is quite another to have some of that language actually acted upon in conformity with the resolution.

We have emphasized in the past that language requesting the Secretary-General to report to the next session of the General Assembly on the implementation of resolutions on decolonization is crucial if the recommendations contained therein are ever to be implemented. We so request this language once again.

As we accelerate the activity in the field of decolonization in fulfilment of the General Assembly's mandate creating the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, we must bear in mind that many of the prescriptions for success of the self-determination process already exist in resolutions of the Assembly and in various plans of action approved over the years. We need only to implement that which has already been approved by the international community.

On behalf of my Government I once again thank the Special Committee for this opportunity to address it; and I am prepared to answer any questions delegations may wish to pose.

The CHAIRMAN: Does any member wish to comment or to put questions to Mr. Corbin?

Ms. BERMUDEZ (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to ask Mr. Corbin to provide us, if possible, with additional information concerning the population that may reside on Water Island. In the event that today we cannot obtain such additional information, would it be possible for

(Ms. Bermudez, Cuba)

the Committee on decolonization to be provided with that information, which I believe would be most useful for our future work?

The CHAIRMAN: Is Mr. Corbin ready to reply immediately to this question?

Mr. CORBIN: In response to the question of the representative of Cuba, I would like to say that the information on the population on Water Island will be provided to the Committee at our very earliest opportunity.

Mr. LEHNE (Norway): I would like to thank Mr. Corbin for his excellent statement and, indeed, for his cooperation with the Committee and the Subcommittee on Small Territories throughout this year's session. Mr. Corbin's participation has been very constructive and, indeed, has largely contributed to the consensus we were able to achieve on the issue of the United States Virgin Islands. I wish to express my gratitude for his constructive participation in the work of this Committee.

I also took note of his expression of satisfaction with the final text of that part of the omnibus resolution concerning the United States Virgin Islands. I am very happy to note that, with the participation and approval of the representative of the Territorial Government, we have been able to achieve a satisfactory result.

The CHAIRMAN: Does any other delegation wish to put questions or to make comments? As that is not the case, I wish to thank Mr. Corbin for his statement and for his cooperation. He may now withdraw.

Mr. Corbin withdrew.

ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND OTHER INTERESTS WHICH ARE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES IN TERRITORIES UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION AND EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE COLONIALISM, APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

HEARING OF PETITIONERS

The CHAIRMAN: As members will recall, at the 1383rd meeting, on 7 August, the Committee granted the request for hearing relating to activities of foreign economic interests to Mr. J. A. Gonzalez Gonzalez.

At the request of the Chairman, Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez.

Mr. GONZALEZ GONZALEZ (interpretation from Spanish): I understand that the item before us on activities impeding the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) is not confined to economic or military questions. The words "economic and other" indicate that anything that impedes or tends to impede the implementation of that resolution to colonial Territories falls within the scope of the item. Such obstacles may be of great or little importance; they may be physical or moral; they may be obvious or subtle. The key lies in the fact of their being an obstacle. Today I wish to refer to some of those obstacles that are not economic or military.

This does not mean that I disregard or underestimate military and economic factors. Nothing could be further from the truth, the more so as the 3.6 million inhabitants of the colonial Territory of Puerto Rico are very much aware of the importance of those two obstacles, since our small national territory is not only riddled by military bases, but also has an internal and external debt amounting to $18 billion, which no doubt makes it the most deeply indebted of enslaved Territories in the world. In referring to military bases, I must recall that among them there is the Roosevelt Roads nuclear facility, an infamous springboard of military aggression the United States used to invade the Dominican Republic in 1965 and, more recently, to invade the island of Grenada. People who have in their homeland such mighty obstacles to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) could never disregard or even underestimate military and economic questions.

Nevertheless, there are other types of obstacles, which also deserve the attention and consideration of the Committee of 24. To my mind, these other obstacles are more important and much more powerful than the military and economic obstacles, and they are much more cruel, because they have to do directly with the deformation of the human mind, specifically with the

(Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez)

deformation of the mind of the slave and with the manipulation by means of terror of some free, sovereign, independent nations so that they will not come out in the defence of colonial Territories, even though that defence may only be a moral or a principled stand. I shall speak briefly on this matter, and give a few concrete examples.

In the final analysis, what is the major obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV)? I would say that it is the resolute determination of the imperialist nation to prevent the liberation of its slaves by every conceivable means, that is, its total opposition to the implementation of the resolution to its colonial Territories. And how do oppressor nations prevent the liberation of their slaves? They do two things. First, they secure the faithfulness of the slave, his gratitude, his desire to remain a slave. Naturally, to do so, they need to ensure that the slave will not be aware of what he is, that he will feel that the master is not his master, but rather his friend and protector, something like a loving father or a kind grandfather. If the imperialist nation achieves this, it may be sure that it will continue to have colonies even though, in order to do so, it may have to make cosmetic changes in their constitutions along the lines of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations. Anyone who has read that Chapter knows that it does not deal with independence, as does resolution 1514 (XV), but rather with self-determination, a concept that the imperialists treat according to their whim, as we all know, since in the United Nations there is no universal definition of that concept. I have spoken on this matter on other occasions before the Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance and before the Fourth Committee. And when I have spoken about this concept, I have referred to the letter I sent on this matter some time ago to

(Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez)

the United Nations Legal Counsel, Mr. Fleischhauer, and to the letter he sent in reply to mine.

In order to secure the fidelity and gratitude of the slave, as I have said, it is necessary to recreate the slave from the inside out. I would prefer to describe this as deforming the mind of the slave. How is this achieved? By public and private schools, from the elementary grades on, ever since the child is five years old. As we know, school has always been a target of imperialist manipulation. Let us make sure that the child salutes the flag of the master; convince him that he speaks an atrocious dialect and that, consequently, it will be to his benefit to learn the language of the master; deny him the importance of his history and of his national heroes, and teach him how great, how important, how wonderful were and are the national heroes of the master. In short, remake the slave in the likeness of the master to the extent possible. And, naturally, carefully manipulate radio, television and newspapers so as to ensure that everything the slave lives and breathes is permeated by his master, and that everything he sees resembles the master. A colonial people deformed in this manner will have difficulty in aspiring to freedom.

I believe that the visiting missions should, as part of their work, include the gathering of information of the kind that I have described - what books are being read in the schools; what news are being published; what films are being shown? What I have been describing has as much to do with colonization as it does with human rights. I believe it is time to include an item on human rights among the items considered by the Committee of 24.

(Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez)

Establishing military bases in colonial Territories is a crime; using the economy to maintain colonial peoples in a state of slavery is also a crime. But beyond any doubt the deformation of human beings for colonial purposes is a much greater crime. If such an item were to be added by the Committee of 24, an item which could be entitled "Human rights in colonial Territories", I would suggest that the item should cover topics such as the following: police persecution, lists of subversive persons, death squads and their use against those who struggle for independence, and so on.

I now wish to turn to diplomatic terrorism. Let us not confuse this with international terrorism. Mining ports and arming and launching groups of soldiers against a third-world Government because that Government may not be to the liking of one of the imperialist Powers constitutes international terrorism. To threaten reprisals against a small country if it votes in favour of the right of an enslaved people to its independence is diplomatic terrorism. What is the salient feature of the former is the destructive action; in the latter, the salient feature is the threat. This terrorism is very common, especially with regard to the United States, and it is used as one of the most effective methods against decolonization, as one of the major obstacles to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. On this point I could provide several concrete examples, but in order not to speak at great length, I shall confine myself to one. The example or evidence I wish to present will be a surprise to no one, since I understand that many of the delegations present here receive at the beginning of the General Assembly session each year a note from the delegation of the United States presenting a list of the items on which the United States hopes for an affirmative vote. We all know what that means. There is no need to explain.

(Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez)

I have here the front page of the newspaper Daily News of Tanzania. There are two items here of interest to us. The first is an editorial entitled "Puerto Rico: US scheme fails badly". It refers to a letter which appears on the front page - the second item of interest to us. This is an official letter from the Embassy of the United States in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, dated 19 August 1975. It bears the signature of Mr. Herbert Levin, Chargé d'affaires ad interim, and is addressed to the Honourable John Malecela, Minister of External Relations of Tanzania. Let me add the curious coincidence that Mr. Malecela was Chairman of the Committee of 24 for two or three years. The letter is brief. It reads as follows:

(spoke in English)

"Thank you for your kind offer earlier today to bring to President Nyerere's attention the view of the Government of the United States that we regard any United Nations consideration of Puerto Rico as flagrant interference into United States internal affairs and as an unfriendly act.

"As you are aware, the full views of my Government on the matter are set forth in United States Embassy Note Diplomatique No. 120/75 delivered to your Ministry on August 16.

"I very much hope that the President's consideration of this matter might be completed in time to affect the vote at the United Nations, anticipated for today, August 19.

"In response to your request I am pleased to set forth below the additional points I was earlier today instructed to communicate to your Government in addition to the Note of August 16.

(Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez)

"The United States Government emphasizes that a vote in support of the Cuban resolution would group the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania with three countries with which the United States Government has no relations (Congo, Cuba, Iraq), two of our principal communist adversaries (China and the USSR) and two States which unfailingly follow Moscow's foreign policy line (Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria) in supporting a resolution which constitutes a flagrant interference in United States internal affairs."

(continued in Spanish)

In the aforementioned editorial Tanzania, with remarkable dignity, rejects the appeals of the Government of the United States and condemns this show of disrespect. As is clearly seen in the letter, diplomatic terrorism - the flagrant threat - is one of the obstacles that we Puerto Ricans and other colonial peoples must contend with in our continuous struggle for freedom.

To conclude, since I am trying to be brief, let me refer to the last attempt by imperialism - an extremely dangerous attempt - whose very clear goal is to transform the Committee of 24 into an instrument for the maintenance of colonialism, into an instrument for the perpetuation of colonial practices, into an anti-resolution 1514 (XV) committee - that is to say, into the greatest obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This in itself would be the ultimate outrage. Such a destructive attempt by imperialism has culminated in the statement the representative of the United States made, I believe in April of this year, at an informal meeting of the Fourth Committee. I believe all members of the Committee have a copy. I have read with some care the content of that document, and I noted, among several things, the following:

(Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez)

First, we do not find mention anywhere of the word "independence", but we do find on four occasions the concept "self-determination", a term which, as we know, the imperialists manipulate according to their capricious whim from Wall Street to the Pentagon. Secondly, there are nine references to "Chapter XI". Thirdly, there is no reference to the third type of colonial Territory, the type to which Puerto Rico belongs, that is, "territories which have not yet attained independence", in the words of operative paragraph 5 of resolution 1514 (XV). Fourthly, it is obvious that there is an attempt here to eliminate the Committee of 24 as it exists in order to transform it into a committee which would work under Chapter XI of the Charter, a section of the Charter that does not refer to independence and that does not include this third type of colonial Territory.

It is curious that 15 years after the signing of the Charter, the United Nations felt the need to adopt resolution 1514 (XV), thanks to the vision of the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev. This resolution was adopted without opposition from the United States which, at that time, could have put the question: "What need is there to adopt such a resolution when we have Chapter XI?" Perhaps it did not ask that question because it feared that someone might answer it by saying:

> "Because Chapter XI does not deal with independence, but does deal with self-determination, a concept which does not lend itself to decolonization, but rather to the making of cosmetic political changes of a colonial nature, and because Chapter XI deals with only two types of colonial Territories, and the terms 'Trust Territory' and 'Non-Self-Governing Territory' are not sufficiently broad to encompass all of the enslaved Territories of the world."

(Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez)

Finally, it is curious that neither in resolution 1514 (XV) nor in resolution 1654 (XVI), which established the Committee, is there a reference to Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter. I wonder why? I suspect that the answer would reveal to us the true dimensions of the enormous error that would be committed if, by responding to diplomatic terrorism in the United Nations, the Committee of 24 were to convert itself, even more than diplomatic terrorism itself and even more than the deformation of the human mind, into the greatest obstacle to the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) with respect to colonial countries and peoples. That must not happen.

The CHAIRMAN: Speaking in my capacity as representative of Czechoslovakia, I should like to say to Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez that we would appreciate it if, in future, he would make more current references to my country than he did in his statement today.

The petitioner withdrew.

ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND OTHER INTERESTS WHICH ARE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES IN TERRITORIES UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION AND EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE COLONIALISM, APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (A/AC.109/1073, 1075 to 1078) (continued)

MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS BY COLONIAL POWERS IN TERRITORIES UNDER THEIR ADMINISTRATION WHICH MIGHT BE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/AC.109/1065, 1066 and 1070) (continued)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS; REPORT OF THE ACTING CHAIRMAN (A/AC.109/L.1761, E/1991/116); REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/46/229) (continued)

The CHAIRMAN: We shall now continue the general debate on these agenda items.

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. Chairman, I should like at the outset to pledge to you the full cooperation and support of my delegation as you guide the affairs of our Committee.

This past year has seen enormous changes in the international situation. As many speakers in this debate have observed, the process of decolonization has also been a beneficiary of these changes. The easing of East-West tensions resulting from the ending of the cold war has removed the excuse to hold the struggle for freedom and independence hostage to ideological differences between the super-Powers or between the East and the West. Namibia has been the best known beneficiary. We hope that the prevailing atmosphere will also facilitate a satisfactory outcome of the bilateral negotiations between Namibia and South Africa over Walvis Bay and the offshore islands, which the United Nations recognizes as integral parts of Namibia.

Unfortunately, instead of using Namibia's independence as an achievement that can inspire action in other colonial situations, some quarters are using it to frustrate the process of decolonization. The claim, for example, that now that Namibia is independent the Committee of 24 should delete apartheid from its agenda, is one we cannot accept, as we made clear during the consultations in the Working Group chaired by the Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea.

Apartheid has been an item on the agenda of the Committee in its own right. We concede that South Africa is not a classical colonial situation. But it cannot be denied that it possesses all the elements of a colonial situation. The majority non-white population is not free. They cannot vote. They have been denied the right to citizenship of their own country. They have no say in the running of their country. Indeed, all the instruments of

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

state power - political control, the civil service, the army, the police and other security services, the economy - are in the hands of the minority white population. In reality, even the Bantustans, to which the black majority have been relegated as second class citizens, are run and controlled by the white minority. Recent media revelations exposing the sordid conspiracy between the regime and its internal collaborators show how the old colonial device of divide-and-rule has been adapted and perfected to suit the South African situation.

To argue in these circumstances that the item relating to South Africa should be deleted from the agenda of the Committee of 24 is to ignore the colonial features of the South African situation. Even if we grant that it is not a classical colonial situation, no one can deny that it is a perfect textbook case of a people denied their right to self-determination. This is what the Committee of 24 is all about - to work to enable people to exercise their right to self-determination.

Yes, it is true that the Special Committee against Apartheid is the major intergovernmental body with primary responsibility for the eradication of apartheid. But it cannot do the work of the Committee of 24 any more than the Committee of 24 can do its work. As we see it, the two Committees complement each other in their work.

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

It cannot be stressed sufficiently that what has determined the form of the campaign against apartheid has been the nature of the system itself. It is a pervasive and utterly hateful system, correctly characterized as a crime against humanity. Because it exists everywhere, its victims and their supporters must be prepared to confront it wherever it rears its ugly head, whether in the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Special Committee of 24, the Third Committee, the First Committee or the Second Committee. The case for the retention of the item relating to South Africa on the agenda of the Committee of 24 is self-evident; that for its deletion has yet to be made. What we have heard we can describe only as unconvincing, if not disingenuous.

Tanzania joins the rest of the membership of our Committee in welcoming the progress made so far towards the holding of a referendum in Western Sahara to determine the wishes of the population. We would like, in this connection, to express our appreciation of the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, which have made possible this progress, and to express the hope that the remaining obstacles will be overcome as speedily as possible.

In this regard, we are saddened by media reports suggesting that hostilities may have been resumed after a lull that inspired confidence that the use of force had given way to genuine negotiations for a solution to the problem. If those reports are true, the resumption of hostilities poses a serious threat to the peace initiative. We urge the parties to the conflict to exercise maximum restraint so as not to jeopardize the peace process. It would be tragic if the reported developments were to dash the hopes of the Sahraoui people whose yearning for freedom and independence has remained unfulfilled for so long.

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

As one petitioner reminded us here yesterday, there are unfortunately still some 19 colonial Territories on the agenda of the Committee. Until the peoples of these Territories have been enabled to exercise their right to self-determination and independence freely, the mandate of the Committee, as granted by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), remains unfulfilled.

If the target we have set for ourselves, that is to say, to end colonialism by the year 2000 - and, as our colleague, the representative of the Soviet Union reminded us yesterday, this is a realistic and achievable target - all concerned must show the necessary political will to make their contributions. In this regard, the primary responsibility for removing the obstacles which impede progress towards independence lies with the colonial Powers. Some of the obstacles have been identified, in documents A/AC.109/1073, 1075 and 1078, covering the activities of foreign economic and other interests which impede the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization, and in documents A/AC.109/1065, 1066 and 1070, which relate to military activities which impede implementation of the Declaration.

Tanzania is aware of the very strongly held views of some delegations that most of the activities of foreign economic and other interests, as well as military activities and other arrangements by colonial Powers, could be beneficial to the colonial peoples whose interests we seek to promote and which must therefore guide the work of our Committee.

We recognize further that some of these views are very sincere, but we cannot ignore the fact that the motivation for these activities has always been the interests of the colonial Power. Any benefit for the colonized is secondary to the interests of the colonial Power; but even more important,

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

such benefits as accrue to the colonial people must be measured against the disbenefits of denied freedom to realize a people's own aspirations.

While some benefit for the colonized may come out of a colonial situation, no people has been colonized for its own good. On these economic and military activities, as on political and other actions which can impact on the people's efforts to realize their aspirations, what should guide the views and decisions of this Committee should be the views of the colonial people themselves, and, needless to say, these must be made clear in ways which satisfy the Committee that the people have indeed spoken. It goes without saying that, on their own, claims by the administering Power that these activities they are undertaking have the support of the people are unacceptable.

The fundamental changes which have taken place during the last two years or so, and which have so profoundly affected the international political and economic scene, provide a favourable environment for accelerating the process of decolonization. The domination of one people by another in a colonial, or unequal, relationship was always unacceptable. In this last decade of the twentieth century, and at a time when the world has witnessed an unprecedented explosion of demand for freedom and democracy everywhere around the world, it is an anachronism.

As indicated before, the Committee has responded magnificently through the recommendations drawn up by the working group chaired by Ambassador Renagi Renagi Lohia of Papua New Guinea. Unfortunately, the majority of the colonial Powers have not responded in like manner. Although welcoming the recommendations of the working group, they have offered little in return. Indeed there have been attempts to divert, if not to stop, the

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

process of decolonization. A number of representatives and petitioners have drawn attention to current attempts to redefine the status of colonial Territories. My delegation hopes the Committee will reject these attempts. Colonialism is colonialism. Finding another name for it will not change the nature of the relationship between the colonial Power and the colonized.

I would like to conclude my brief remarks by reiterating Tanzania's continued and unflinching support for the struggle of all peoples for their right to self-determination and independence. Until the peoples of the remaining 19 colonial Territories have been enabled to exercise this right, we will not relax our support. We do not agree that there are any colonial peoples who deserve less than this. At any rate, the decision on whether or not to settle for less must be left to the people of each colonial Territory.

Mr. LEHNE (Norway): I wish to express my thanks to the representative of Tanzania for his excellent statement, with which I can agree in almost every particular.

I do have a question, either to the representative of Tanzania or to the Secretariat, regarding the appearance of the question of the eradication of apartheid as part of the agenda of this Committee. May I have some clarification as to where on the agenda of this Committee that question would appear?

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania): I should be glad to respond to the question of the representative of Norway, but I am not sure that this is the best forum in which to do so: as I understand it, we have been engaged since yesterday in consultations in the open-ended working group. That is where these matters are being discussed. I do not know whether we can make much progress towards a consensus in this meeting of the full Committee.

In speaking of the question of apartheid today, I was not taking it up in this Committee for the first time; draft texts and various other documents that have been circulated have included references to apartheid and to South Africa. Even on the basis of past practice, the subject is already here. I would suggest, however, that the best place for these discussions might be in the continuing consultations in the working group.

Mr. LEHNE (Norway): I am satisfied by that reply. It does not seem that the question of apartheid appears on our agenda, which was exactly the point I wanted to clarify. I agree with the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania that this matter should indeed be the subject of further informal consultations.

I just wanted to make the point that the question of apartheid does not actually appear on the agenda of this Committee.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): I want to add to what the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania has already said. This is indeed not the first time the Committee has considered the question of apartheid. But the Committee has been consulting widely - even with the Fourth Committee - with a view to arriving at some understanding. It is my

(Mr. Lohia, Papua New Guinea)

belief as Chairman of the working group that there was an understanding that the Committee should continue considering the question of apartheid within its agenda and in the framework of the draft resolution it has traditionally adopted.

It is in that spirit that I appeal to all members of the Committee to participate in these formal and informal consulations so we can arrive at agreed language providing for maximum solidarity with the colonized peoples and with the people of South Africa, who are living in such inhumane conditions.

The Committee has unanimously adopted the report of the working group, and I hope we can live within the framework that has already been provided and within the spirit that already exists.

Mr. SHAHEED (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): I support the statement of the Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea. Early this year, on the recommendation of the representative of Cuba, we held a number of meetings to organize our work. In the course of those meetings we agreed that the Committee would consider apartheid as a normal part of its work. Thus, I do not think that mentioning that subject in the Committee constitutes a deviation from our agenda.

The CHAIRMAN: At this point I would invite delegations to save their energy for the exchange of views in our upcoming consultations on draft resolutions.

Mr. LEHNE (Norway): I do not want to expand on this issue here and now, but want to note for the record that Norway agreed to the report on the reforms. We made a statement explaining our position after it was adopted by consensus. Again, I wonder if the Secretariat can provide me with a reference to apartheid on the agenda of the Special Committee. To my knowledge no such reference appears.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure the Secretariat will do what it can.

The Committee will continue the general debate at its next meeting.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to inform members that we have programmed two meetings for tomorrow, Friday, 9 August 1991. At those meetings the Committee will continue its consideration of the question of New Caledonia. In this connection we shall hear a petitioner and take a decision on the draft resolution on the item.

The next item to be examined at tomorrow's meetings will be the report of the Subcommittee on Small Territories. In this connection we shall hear petitioners on the United States Virgin Islands, Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

We shall then continue the general debate on activities of foreign economic interests, military activities, implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies, and visiting missions and will, I hope, take a decision on the draft resolution relating to the sending of visiting missions to Territories and adopt the report of the Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance.

(The Chairman)

We shall then take up the item relating to the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). In this connection I wish to inform members that for reasons beyond our control the working paper on the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) will not be issued until early next week. Therefore, if there is no objection the general debate on that item will be rescheduled for early next week. However, should the Committee agree we shall hear the petitioners on that item tomorrow.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: Also at tomorrow's meetings the Committee will take a decision on requests for hearings received from organizations relating to the Special Committee decision of 15 August 1990 concerning Puerto Rico.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.